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associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

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●797.

Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by outside influences.¹ The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

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One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.²

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One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

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The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

¹ As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

² With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages,
all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic
782 that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
771 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The

● 777 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years
771 employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was
allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay,
ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are
of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne
very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
 773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and
 from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made
 all the mandas and *irioris*. They themselves became *Paldis*, and built temples. When
 a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Ādram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnā Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and
 Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Āmādd*.
 Ēn and Pauv remained making *pājs** and building mandas. Pauv milked the buffaloes
 morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the
 reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into
 the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv
 grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Āmādd*. Ēn then told the Todas he
 must go to *Āmādd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain
 " here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which
 he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three
 years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and
 asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when
 the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this,
 the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes
 were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him
 away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted
 173 above. When I asked Kiriaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
 771 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but
 which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
 which we find many traces.

114 If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading
 Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars
 encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two
 centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long
 been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has
 induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by
 Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their
 reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship,
 and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect"
 life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
 771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

* *Pāja*, worship.

THE TODAS.

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174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Mets derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgār*) from Peringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mündah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Lark Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (*Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.*) has been published. In this work, page 122, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris ever were in any way associated with either the Christian or Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuan peoples applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen andern Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, mit ihrem jetzigen Culturstande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher höher Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly higher culture."—*Troch's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The cases of the Todas and Kurnubas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primæval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay could so hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane, to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

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177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

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197 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil

● 797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamasha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the other near Paikara. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

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891 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevely, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

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* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.

† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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(Communicated by Franklin Edgerton)

ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling¹ and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Pewee Fund) in 1936-8.

¹ Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Down in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Stories on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, 1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,² and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiškar] (59, Kishkar),³ his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskrit name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, e.g., as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

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² See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19, 101-121), 117.

³ When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ʂ] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [e] and [ɛ] are affricates of *ts* and *ds* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [u] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aʊi] in one name is the diphthong [aʊ] plus the vowel [i].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.⁴ In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanon] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.⁵

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

⁴ This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

⁵ See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOB 57. 277-289.

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS

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term [kel.] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648
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In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbade dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing. 797
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The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.⁷ As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc- [184]

⁷ See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, *Proceedings American Philosophical Society* 77. 642-660. 797
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533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tami-
lian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuaodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

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[533] I have shown elsewhere * that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskrit-Tamil. When we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

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[113] * *Personal Names of the Todas*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., 40, 205-223.

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfusoɔj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuasimongumɔɔ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuf] "spiritual power-flower," which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɔɔL] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɔjɔɔɔɔɔɔ] "silver-flower" and [tyɔjɔɔɔɔɔɔ] (the first member [tyɔj] is not clear).¹⁰ One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuanoɔɔ] has a son, called [asoɔxumɔɔɔɔ] from [asoɔɔɔɔɔɔ], the buffaloes of the [tiɔɔ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.¹¹ Another son of his is called [siɔxumɔɔɔɔ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɔɔɔɔɔɔ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.¹² Similarly with [pumɔxumɔɔɔɔ] "fruit-horn,"¹³ the name of a son of [iɔxumɔɔɔɔ] (21, Idrshkwɔɔɔɔɔɔ).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

¹⁰ *fb.* § 20th, for the formation.

¹¹ *fb.* § 24 for -[ɔɔ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.

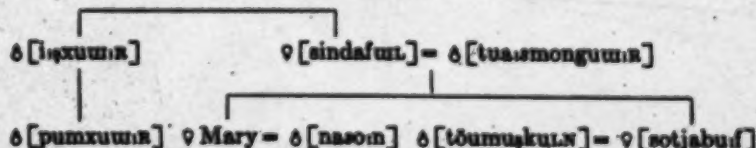
¹² *fb.* § 9.

¹³ *fb.* § 8.

¹⁴ *fb.* § 28, for the element [pum].

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797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
 582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [i:ɣu:u:n] (21, Idrəkwòdr) has one son [pumxu:u:n]. His sister [sindafu:n] 184 (Sindavul) married [tua:smongu:u:n] (59, Tormungudr)¹⁴ and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabu:f]. [i:ɣu:u:n] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, [60] Mary was married to [na:oi:n] (son of [te:pax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [na:oi:n] and [sindafu:n] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [na:oi:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [i:ɣu:u:n], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxu:u:n]. When she came of age however, [pumxu:u:n] 797 184 686 627 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [təumu:ɣu:u:n]. [i:ɣu:u:n] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxu:u:n] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [təumu:ɣu:u:n] and [sotjabu:f] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [pe:θo:n] 692 (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [i:ɣu:u:n]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:smongu:u:n] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [i:ɣu:u:n]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



¹⁴ A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.¹⁶ It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kaxfuzodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kumun], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.¹⁷ A Toda woman, once she

¹⁶ See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

¹⁷ Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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[851] has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social structure. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

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[782] Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxumr] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanus] (Kanaers); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfwsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kišken] (14, Kūshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnurs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [pa:wi:ʒilj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfwsodj]. Her brother [noimnurj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfwsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnurs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noimnurj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfwsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoim] (20, son of [teipax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfwsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noimnurj] should pay to [kanfwsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

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585 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first marriage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes, and five rupees; these are the [kōkumlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [axpun] "dowry," i.e. a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, i.e. three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

794 its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the
 184 tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's
 233 needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of
 797 the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda
 439 in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The
 Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the
 great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and
 unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on
 this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet
 one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is
 181 possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly
 people" ¹¹ or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient
 bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their
 character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they
 are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise
 that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities.
 Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts
 and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

¹¹ So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 106.

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grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land from the Todas. The sib of the unkitjo: (Rivers' Pām; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:jo: and melga:jo: lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pasturages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:jo: sib, the other of the mō:jo: sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:jo: sib were sold to Government and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold when the sib of the ka:jo: were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkam's liability in the suicide of nō:nnm. In general,

771 of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments*
 776 and *Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed
 177 in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of
 Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It
 is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as
 is the frequent use of the vocative *so:mi:* as an expletive of
 surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to
 have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

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It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munda, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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[Melgarsh Village]

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159
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(25) Nārshmalī: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhliwutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Nārshmalī had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershīl* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832]
[837]

(26) Pufvkīaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847]
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(27) Mutmalī: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkīaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmalī came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832]
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APPENDIX 2: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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continued to smoulder in his heart until, in 1917, he decided to take the matter to Court, as a result of which he did receive the remaining property. ¹¹⁵ [691]

Before this episode, however, his half-sister had died leaving him all alone. It was then that Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission took an interest in him and removed him to the school which she ran close to his native village at the 8th mile of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. As a consequence of this, he was eventually converted to Christianity. After he had received the meagre remnants of his father's estate, Miss Ling sent him away to another school at Palamkottah in the Tinnevely district for further studies, and he passed there through the third form. In 1923 she sent him to Assam, to the Welsh Mission, with the idea that he should learn to be a motor mechanic, I do not quite know to which part of that large and distant province he went, as he was rather vague in his description of it, but he did say that it was wild and underdeveloped in the extreme, with no roads at all, let alone motor traffic. So, instead of being trained as a mechanic, he was made to look after the station missionary's horse as a groom, which enraged him since he had just come into what little there was left of his property and had been persuaded to leave the Nilgiris under what were apparently false pretences. [797] ●

After only a very few months of this most unsatisfactory situation, he ran away and managed somehow to reach Calcutta in search of work. But because of the language, Bengali, which he did not speak, he found this extremely difficult to obtain, and had to content himself with a hand to mouth existence. In the end, he got a job as a junior gardener with a kind missionary, the Rev. H. Kehel. He remained a year with the latter, and when he had saved enough money to pay for the railway fare, he took the train and returned to Madras. In that city he joined the large motor transport company, Addison and Co., where after twelve months' apprenticeship, he eventually got his driver's licence and became one of the firm's mechanics, keeping his position until 1928.

At this time his health deteriorated. He underwent a serious operation for a gastric ulcer and had to give up his work. He returned to the Nilgiris the following year, and began to take a lively interest in the well-being and progress of the community from which he sprang, the Todas. He joined the Collector of the Nilgiris' Toda Amelioration Scheme and was trained as an agriculturalist. He thus became an agricultural consultant for the tribe, advising it on such matters, and using his newly acquired knowledge as a means of livelihood. [792]